



National Institute of Justice Centers for Disease Control and Prevention

R e s e a r c h i n B r i e f

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We are pleased to publish this first in a series of joint reports on violence against women.

When the National Institute of Justice (NIJ) and the National Center for Injury Prevention and Control (NCIPC) launched our partnership to study violence against women, there were no national data on stalking and its impact. This first-ever national survey has already made a major contribution. We eagerly await findings from other aspects of the study and anticipate reports on the incidence and prevalence of violence, partner violence, and rape.

This NIJ/NCIPC partnership to learn more about violence against women is based on a research agenda developed by the National Academy of Sciences, which was mandated by the Violence Against Women Act (Title IV of the Crime Act of 1994) and supported by NIJ and CDC.

Joint research initiatives stimulate a rich cross-fertilization of ideas and bring interdisciplinary perspectives to our knowledge base. The interests of both NCIPC and NIJ in this area are grounded in their common focus on social policy. NIJ brings a criminal justice perspective; NCIPC examines the issue from a public health and prevention perspective.

We hope the result will be a deeper and broader understanding of the implications of this violence and the effective policy response.

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Stalking in America: Findings From the National Violence Against Women Survey

by Patricia Tjaden and Nancy Thoennes

Unprecedented interest in stalking over the past decade has produced media accounts of stalking victims,¹ passage of antistalking laws in all 50 States and the District of Columbia,² and development of a model antistalking code.³ Despite this interest, research on stalking has been limited to studies of small, unrepresentative, or clinical samples of known stalkers;⁴ law journal reviews of the constitutionality and effectiveness of specific antistalking statutes;⁵ and case studies of individual stalkers.⁶ Thus, empirical data have been lacking on such fundamental questions about stalking as:

- How much stalking is there in the United States?
- Who stalks whom?
- How often do stalkers overtly threaten their victims?
- How often is stalking reported to the police?
- What are the psychological and social consequences of stalking?

This Research in Brief presents data from the first-ever national study on stalking and addresses these and related questions. Since the data show stalking to be much more prevalent than previously thought and include other findings of broad public concern, they have significance for legislators, policymakers, intervention planners, and researchers as well as the public health and criminal justice communities.

The data are from the National Violence Against Women (NVAW) Survey, a nationally representative telephone survey of 8,000 U.S. women and 8,000 U.S. men (see "Survey Methodology and Demographic Description of the Sample," page 15). The survey, which asked detailed questions about respondents' experiences with violence, including stalking, was sponsored jointly by the National Institute of Justice and the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention through a grant to the Center for Policy Research.

What is stalking?

Stalking generally refers to harassing or threatening behavior that an individual engages in repeatedly, such as following a person, appearing at a person's home or place of business, making harassing phone calls, leaving written messages or objects, or vandalizing a person's property. These actions may or may not be accompanied by a credible threat of serious harm, and they may or may not be precursors to an assault or murder.⁷

Legal definitions of stalking vary widely from State to State. Though most States define stalking as the willful, malicious, and repeated following and harassing of another person, some States include in their definition such activities as lying-in-wait, surveillance, nonconsensual

Issues and Findings

Discussed in this Brief: Results of a nationally representative telephone survey of 8,000 women and 8,000 men about their experiences with stalking, cosponsored by the National Institute of Justice and the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention and conducted by the Center for Policy Research. The survey provides the first national data on stalking in the United States.

Key issues: This study provides empirical data on the prevalence and characteristics of stalking in the general population: How much stalking is there in the United States? Who stalks whom? How often do stalkers overtly threaten their victims? How often is stalking reported to the police? What are the psychological and social consequences of stalking? Also considered in this report is the key issue of how to define stalking.

Key findings and policy implications:

Analysis of survey data produced the following results:

- Stalking is more prevalent than previously thought: 8 percent of women and 2 percent of men in the United States have been stalked at some time in their life; an estimated 1,006,970 women and 370,990 men are stalked annually. Given these findings, stalking should be treated as a legitimate criminal justice and public health concern.
- American Indian/Alaska Native women are significantly more likely to report being stalked than women of other racial or ethnic backgrounds. More research is needed to establish the degree of variance and determine how much of the variance may be explained by demographic, social, and environmental factors.
- Although stalking is a gender-neutral crime, most (78 percent) stalking victims are female and most (87 percent) stalking perpetrators are male.
- Adults between 18 and 29 years old are the primary targets of stalking, comprising 52 percent of all victims.
- Most stalking cases involve perpetrators and victims who know each other; 23 percent of all female victims and 36 percent of all male victims are stalked by strangers.
- Women are significantly more likely than men (59 percent and 30 percent, respectively) to be stalked by intimate partners, about half of whom stalk their partners while the relationship is intact. Since most stalking cases involve victims and perpetrators who know each other, future research should focus on intimate and acquaintance stalking, rather than “celebrity” stalking.
- There is a strong link between stalking and other forms of violence in intimate relationships: 81 percent of women who were stalked by a current or former husband or cohabiting partner were also physically assaulted by that partner and 31 percent were also sexually assaulted by that partner. It is imperative, therefore, that America’s criminal justice community receive comprehensive training on the special safety needs of victims of intimate partner stalking.
- Less than half of all stalking victims are directly threatened by their stalkers, although the victims, by definition, experience a high level of fear. Thus, “credible threat” requirements should be eliminated from the definition of stalking in all State stalking statutes.
- About half of all stalking victims report their stalking to the police. About a quarter of stalking cases reported to the police result in suspects being arrested. While there is some evidence that antistalking laws have increased reports to the police, more research is needed to determine antistalking laws’ full effect on reports to the police.
- About 12 percent of all stalking cases result in criminal prosecution, and about a quarter of female stalking victims and about a tenth of male stalking victims obtain restraining orders against their stalkers. Of all victims with restraining orders, 69 percent of the women and 81 percent of the men said their stalkers violated the order. More research is needed on the effectiveness of formal and informal justice system interventions in stalking cases.
- Thirty percent of female stalking victims and 20 percent of male stalking victims seek psychological counseling as a result of their victimization. Stalking victims are significantly more likely than nonstalking victims to live in fear for their personal safety and to carry something to defend themselves. To better meet the needs of stalking victims, the mental health community should receive comprehensive training on appropriate treatment of stalking victims.
- The average stalking case lasts 1.8 years. Since nearly a fifth of all stalking victims move to new locations to escape their stalkers, it is important that address confidentiality programs be made available to stalking victims.

Target audience: Criminal justice and public health researchers and practitioners. Legislators, policymakers, and intervention planners at all levels of government.

communication, telephone harassment, and vandalism.⁸ While most States require that the alleged stalker engage in a course of conduct showing that the crime was not an isolated event, some States specify how many acts (usually two or more) must occur before the conduct can be considered stalking.⁹ State stalking laws also vary in their threat and fear requirements. Most stalking laws require that the perpetrator, to qualify as a stalker,

make a credible threat of violence against the victim; others include in their requirements threats against the victim’s immediate family; and still others require only that the alleged stalker’s course of conduct constitute an implied threat.¹⁰

The definition of stalking used in the NVAW Survey closely resembles the definition of stalking used in the model antistalking code for States

developed by the National Institute of Justice.¹¹ The survey defines stalking as “a course of conduct directed at a specific person that involves repeated visual or physical proximity, nonconsensual communication, or verbal, written or implied threats, or a combination thereof, that would cause a reasonable person fear,” with *repeated* meaning on two or more occasions. The model antistalking code does not require

stalkers to make a credible threat of violence against victims, but it does require victims to feel a high level of fear (“fear of bodily harm”). Similarly, the definition of stalking used in the NVAW Survey does not require stalkers to make a credible threat against victims, but it does require victims to feel a high level of fear (see “Survey Screening Questions,” page 17).

How much stalking is there?

In the NVAW Survey, stalking victimization was measured in terms of lifetime prevalence and annual prevalence. *Lifetime prevalence* refers to the percentage of persons within a demographic group (e.g., male or female) who were stalked sometime in their lifetime. *Annual prevalence* refers to the percentage of persons within a demographic group who were stalked sometime in the 12 months preceding the survey.

Using a definition of stalking that requires victims to feel a high level of fear, the NVAW Survey found that 8 percent of women and 2 percent of men in the United States have been stalked at some time in their life.¹²

Based on U.S. Census estimates of the number of women and men in the country, one out of every 12 U.S. women (8.2 million) has been stalked at some time in her life, and one out of every 45 U.S. men (2 million) has been stalked at some time in his life (see exhibit 1).¹³

Ninety percent of the stalking victims identified by the survey were stalked by just one person during their life. Nine percent of female victims and 8 percent of male victims were stalked by two different persons, and 1 percent of female victims and 2

Exhibit 1. Percentage and Estimated Number of Men and Women Stalked in Lifetime

Group	Persons Stalked in Lifetime	
	Percentage ^a	Estimated Number ^b
Men (N = 8,000)	2.2	2,040,460
Women (N = 8,000)	8.1	8,156,460

a. Differences between men and women are significant at $\leq .001$.

b. Based on estimates of men and women aged 18 years and older, U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Survey, 1995.

Exhibit 2. Percentage and Estimated Number of Men and Women Stalked in Previous 12 Months

Group	Persons Stalked in Previous 12 Months	
	Percentage ^a	Estimated Number ^b
Men (N = 8,000)	0.4	370,990
Women (N = 8,000)	1.0	1,006,970

a. Differences between men and women are significant at $\leq .001$.

b. Based on estimates of men and women aged 18 years and older, U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Survey, 1995.

percent of male victims were stalked by three different persons.

The survey also found that 1 percent of all women surveyed and 0.4 percent of all men surveyed were stalked during the 12 months preceding the survey. These findings equate to an estimated 1,006,970 women and an estimated 370,990 men who are stalked annually in the United States (see exhibit 2).

The average *annual* estimates of stalking victimization generated by the survey are relatively high compared to the average *lifetime* estimates. Two factors account for this finding. The first has to do with the age of the population most at risk of being stalked. The survey found that 74 percent of stalking victims are between 18 and 39 years old. Since men and women between 18 and 39

years comprise nearly half (47 percent) the adult population from which the sample was drawn, a large proportion of men and women in the survey sample were at risk of being stalked in the 12 months preceding the interview. As the proportion of the U.S. population aged 18–39 years declines, so should the number of persons stalked annually. However, the lifetime estimates of stalking victimization should remain relatively constant.

Another reason annual estimates of stalking victimization are relatively high compared to lifetime rates is that stalking, by definition, involves repeated and ongoing victimization. Thus, some men and women are stalked for months or years on end. Because some men and women are stalked from one year to the next, the average annual estimates of stalking

victimization cannot be added to produce an estimate of the total number of men and women who will be stalked in two, three, or more years. Thus, average annual rates of stalking victimization will appear higher than expected when compared to lifetime rates of stalking victimization.

Comparison with previous stalking estimates

Prior to this study, information on stalking prevalence was limited to guesses provided by mental health professionals based on their work with known stalkers. The most frequently cited “guesstimates” of stalking prevalence were made by forensic psychiatrist Park Dietz, who in 1992 reported that 5 percent of U.S. women are stalked at some time in their life and approximately 200,000 U.S. women are stalked each year.¹⁴ Thus, the NVAW Survey’s estimate that 8 percent of U.S. women have been stalked at some time in their life is 1.6 times greater than Dietz’s guesstimate, and the survey’s estimate that 1,006,970 U.S. women are stalked annually is five times greater than Dietz’s guesstimate.

How prevalent is stalking compared to other forms of violence against women in the United States? The NVAW Survey found that 0.3 percent of all women surveyed experienced a completed or attempted rape in the 12 months preceding the survey, and 1.9 percent experienced a physical assault in the 12 months preceding the survey (see exhibit 3). Thus, in a 1-year period, women are three times more likely to be stalked than raped, but they are two times more likely to be physically assaulted than stalked.

Exhibit 3. Percentage of Men and Women Victimized in Previous 12 Months, by Type of Violence

Type of Violence	Persons Victimized in Previous 12 Months (%)	
	Men (N = 8,000)	Women (N = 8,000)
Rape	<0.1 ^a	0.3
Physical assault	3.4	1.9
Stalking	0.4	1.0
Any of the above	3.9	3.0

a. Based on five or fewer cases.

Stalking prevalence based on broader definition. If a less stringent definition of stalking is used—one requiring victims to feel only somewhat frightened or a little frightened by their assailant’s behavior—stalking prevalence rates rise dramatically. Specifically, the lifetime stalking prevalence rate increases from 8 percent to 12 percent for women and from 2 percent to 4 percent for men; and the annual stalking prevalence rate increases from 1 percent to 6 percent for women and from 0.4 percent to 1.5 percent for men. Based on these higher prevalence rates, an estimated 12.1 million U.S. women and 3.7 million U.S. men are stalked at some time in their life; and 6 million women and 1.4 million men are stalked annually in the United States. These results show how stalking prevalence varies with the level of fear included in the definition. A higher standard of fear produces lower prevalence rates, and a lower standard of fear produces higher prevalence rates.

Stalking risk for racial and ethnic minorities

Information from the NVAW Survey presents a complex picture of stalking, race, and ethnicity. When data

on African-American, American Indian/Alaska Native, Asian/Pacific Islander, and mixed race women are combined, there is no difference in stalking prevalence between white women and minority women: 8.2 percent of white women (see exhibit 4) and 8.2 percent of nonwhite women (not shown) reported ever being stalked in their lifetime. However, a comparison of stalking prevalence across specific racial and ethnic groupings shows that American Indian/Alaska Native women report significantly more stalking victimization than women of other racial and ethnic backgrounds (see exhibit 4). This finding should be viewed with caution, however, given the small number of American Indian/Alaska Native women in the sample. This finding also underscores the need for specificity when comparing prevalence rates among women of different racial or ethnic backgrounds.

Since information on violence against American Indian and Alaska Native women is limited, it is difficult to explain why they report more stalking victimization. A previous study found that the overall homicide rates for Native Americans were about two times greater than U.S. national rates.¹⁵ Thus, there is some evidence that Native Americans are at signifi-

cantly greater risk of violence—fatal and nonfatal—than other Americans. How much of the variance in stalking prevalence may be explained by demographic, social, and environmental factors remains unclear and requires further study. Moreover, there may be significant differences in stalking prevalence among women of diverse American Indian tribes and Alaska Native communities that cannot be determined from the survey, since data on all Native Americans were combined.

There is some evidence that Asian and Pacific Islander women are at significantly less risk of being stalked than women of other racial and ethnic backgrounds (see exhibit 4). Again, however, given the small number of Asian/Pacific Islander women in the sample, this finding must be viewed with caution. It has been suggested that traditional Asian values emphasizing close family ties and harmony may discourage Asian women from disclosing physical and emotional abuse by intimate partners.¹⁶ Thus, the smaller stalking prevalence rate found among Asian/Pacific Islander women may be, at least in part, an artifact of underreporting. There may also be a significant difference in stalking prevalence between Asian women and Pacific Islander women that cannot be determined from the survey, since data on these two groups were combined.

The survey found no significant difference in stalking prevalence among men of different racial and ethnic backgrounds. This finding must also be viewed with caution given the sample's small number of male victims falling into specific racial and ethnic groupings. A larger sample of male stalking victims is needed to produce more reliable information on the relative risk of stalking among men of different racial and ethnic backgrounds.

Exhibit 4. Percentage of Men and Women Stalked in Lifetime, by Race and Ethnicity of Victim

Group	Persons Stalked in Lifetime (%)					
	Total	White	African-American	Asian/Pacific Islander	American Indian/Alaska Native	Mixed Race
Men	(N=7,759) 2.3	(N=6,424) 2.1	(N=659) 2.4	(N=165) 1.8 ^a	(N=105) 4.8	(N=406) 3.9
Women ^b	(N=7,850) 8.2	(N=6,452) 8.2	(N=780) 6.5	(N=133) 4.5	(N=88) 17.0	(N=397) 10.6

a. Based on five or fewer cases.

b. Differences between racial and ethnic groups are significant at $\leq .05$.

Exhibit 5. Percentage of Men and Women Stalked in Lifetime, by Hispanic/Non-Hispanic Origin of Victim

Group	Persons Stalked in Lifetime (%)		
	Total	Hispanic ^a	Non-Hispanic
Men	(N=7,916) 2.2	(N=581) 3.3	(N=7,335) 2.1
Women	(N=7,945) 8.1	(N=628) 7.6	(N=7,317) 8.2

a. Persons of Hispanic origin may be of any race.

The survey found no significant difference in stalking prevalence among men and women of Hispanic and non-Hispanic origin (see exhibit 5). Since previous studies comparing the prevalence of violence among Hispanic and non-Hispanic women have produced contradictory conclusions,¹⁷ these findings neither confirm nor contradict earlier findings.

Who stalks whom?

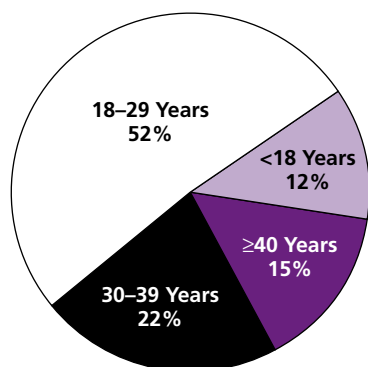
Though stalking is a gender-neutral crime, women are the primary victims of stalking and men are the primary perpetrators. Seventy-eight percent of the stalking victims identified by the survey were women, and 22 percent were men. Thus, four out of five stalking victims are women. By

comparison, 94 percent of the stalkers identified by female victims and 60 percent of the stalkers identified by male victims were male. Overall, 87 percent of the stalkers identified by victims were male.

Young adults are also the primary targets of stalkers. Fifty-two percent of the stalking victims were 18–29 years old and 22 percent were 30–39 years old when the stalking started (see exhibit 6). On average, victims were 28 years old when the stalking started.

The survey confirms previous reports that most victims know their stalker.¹⁸ Only 23 percent of female stalking victims and 36 percent of male stalking victims were stalked by strangers. The survey also shows that

Exhibit 6. Victim's Age When First Stalked^a



a. N=797 male and female victims. Percentages do not total 100 due to rounding.

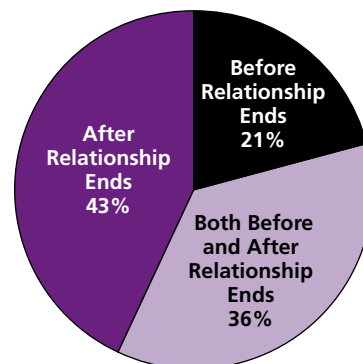
women tend to be stalked by intimate partners, defined as current or former spouses, current or former cohabitants (of the same or opposite sex), or current or former boyfriends or girlfriends. Thirty-eight percent of female stalking victims were stalked by current or former husbands, 10 percent by current or former cohabiting partners, and 14 percent by

current or former dates or boyfriends. Overall, 59 percent of female victims, compared with 30 percent of male victims, were stalked by some type of intimate partner (see exhibit 7).

It has been reported previously that when women are stalked by intimate partners, the stalking typically occurs after the woman attempts to leave the relationship.¹⁹ To test this assumption, the NVAW Survey asked women who had been stalked by former husbands or partners when in the relationship the stalking occurred. Twenty-one percent of these victims said the stalking occurred before the relationship ended, 43 percent said it occurred after the relationship ended, and 36 percent said it occurred both before and after the relationship ended (see exhibit 8). Thus, contrary to popular opinion, women are often stalked by intimate partners while the relationship is still intact.

The survey found that men tend to be stalked by strangers and acquaintances

Exhibit 8. Point in Intimate Relationship When Stalking of Women^a Occurs

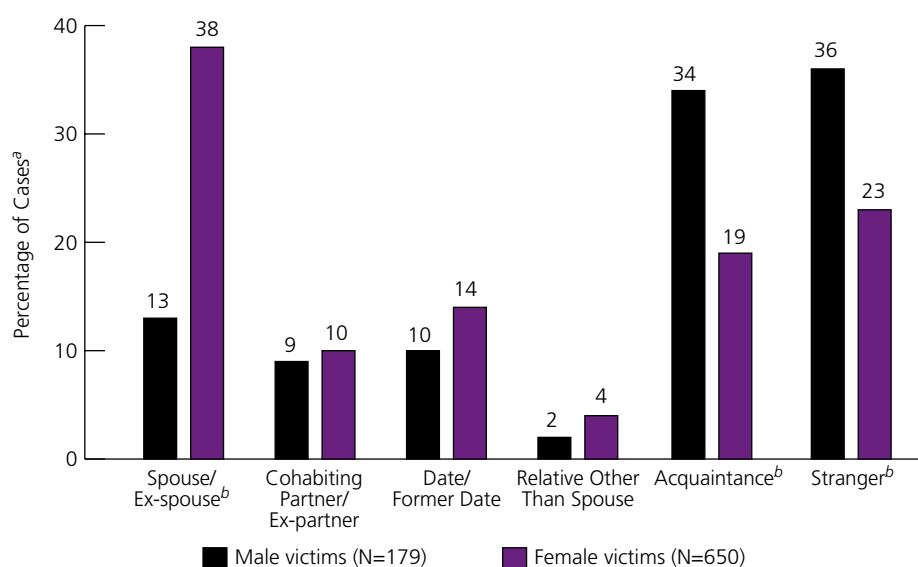


a. N=263 female victims.

(see exhibit 7), 90 percent of whom are male. It is unclear from the survey data why men are stalked by male strangers and male acquaintances. There is some evidence that homosexual men are at greater risk of being stalked than heterosexual men: Stalking prevalence was significantly greater among men who had ever lived with a man as a couple compared with men who had never lived with a man as a couple (see exhibit 9). Thus, in some stalking cases involving male victims and stranger or acquaintance perpetrators, the perpetrator may be motivated by hatred toward homosexuals, while in others the perpetrator may be motivated by sexual attraction. It is also possible that some men are stalked by male strangers and male acquaintances in the context of inter- or intra-group gang rivalries. Clearly, more research is needed to determine under what circumstances men are stalked by male strangers and male acquaintances.

Although men tend to be stalked by strangers and acquaintances, women are at significantly greater risk of

Exhibit 7. Relationship Between Victim and Offender



a. Percentages exceed 100% because some victims had more than one stalker.

b. Differences between males and females are significant at $\leq .05$.

being stalked by strangers and acquaintances than men. A comparison of stalking prevalence among women and men by victim-offender relationship shows that 1.8 percent of all U.S. women, compared with 0.8 percent of all U.S. men, have been stalked by strangers; and 1.6 percent of all U.S. women, compared with 0.8 percent of all U.S. men, have been stalked by acquaintances (see exhibit 10).

How do stalkers harass and terrorize?

When asked to describe specific activities their stalkers engaged in to harass and terrorize them, women were significantly more likely than men to report that their stalkers followed them, spied on them, or stood outside their home or place of work or recreation (see exhibit 11). Women were also significantly more likely to report that their stalkers made unsolicited phone calls. About equal percentages of female and male victims reported that their stalkers sent them unwanted letters or items, vandalized their property, or killed or threatened to kill a family pet (see exhibit 11).

How often do stalkers threaten overtly?

Many State antistalking laws include in their definition of stalking a requirement that stalkers make an overt threat of violence against their victim.²⁰ Survey findings suggest that this requirement may be ill-advised. By definition, stalking victims in this survey were either very frightened of their assailant's behavior or feared their assailant would seriously harm or kill them or someone close to them. Despite the high level of fear required, the survey found that less

Exhibit 9. Percentage of Men Stalked in Lifetime, by Whether They Ever Cohabited with a Man

Men Stalked/ Not Stalked in Lifetime ^a	Cohabitation Experience	
	Cohabited with a Man (N=65) %	Never Cohabited with a Man (N=7,935) %
Stalked	7.7 ^b	2.2
Not stalked	92.3	97.8

a. Differences between men who "cohabited" and "never cohabited" are significant at < .01.

b. Based on five or fewer cases.

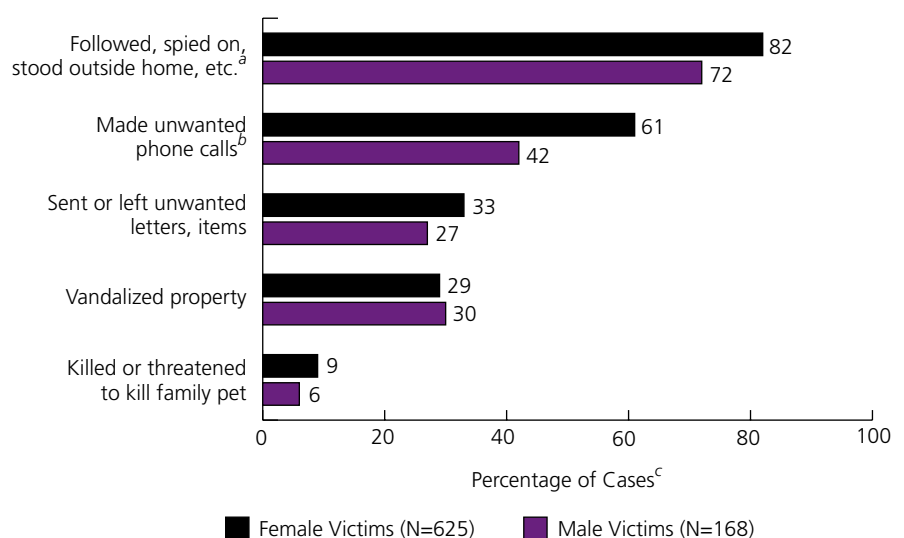
Exhibit 10. Percentage of Men and Women Stalked in Lifetime, by Victim-Offender Relationship

Victim-Offender Relationship	Persons Stalked in Lifetime (%)	
	Men (N=8,000)	Women (N=8,000)
Intimate ^a	0.6	4.8
Relative	0.1 ^b	0.3
Acquaintance ^a	0.8	1.6
Stranger ^a	0.8	1.8

a. Differences between men and women are significant at ≤ .05.

b. Based on five or fewer cases.

Exhibit 11. Stalking Activities Engaged in by Stalkers



a. Differences between males and females are significant at ≤ .05.

b. Differences between males and females are significant at ≤ .001.

c. Percentages exceed 100% because the question had multiple responses.

than half the victims—both male and female—were directly threatened by their stalker (see exhibit 12). This finding shows that stalkers do not always threaten their victim verbally or in writing; more often they engage in a course of conduct that, taken in context, causes a reasonable person to feel fearful. The model anti-stalking code reflects this reality by not including in its definition of stalking a requirement that the stalker make a credible threat of violence against the victim.²¹

Why stalkers stalk their victims

To generate information on motivations for stalking, the survey asked victims why they thought they had been stalked. Since stalking occurs in a variety of situations and between people who have various relationships, it is not surprising that responses to this question varied. Based on victims' perceptions of why they were stalked, it appears that much stalking is motivated by stalkers' desire to control, or instill fear in, their victim (see exhibit 13). The survey results dispel the myth that most stalkers are psychotic or delusional. Only 7 percent of the victims said they were stalked because their stalkers were mentally ill or abusing drugs or alcohol.

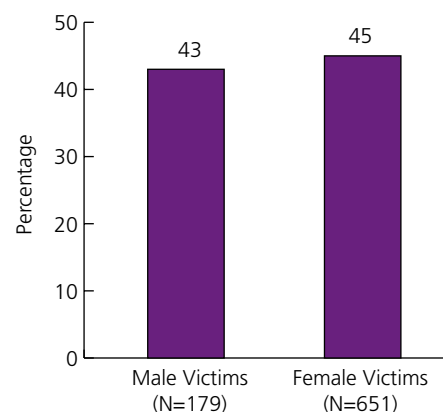
Relationship between stalking and other forms of violence

The National Violence Against Women Survey provides compelling evidence of the link between stalking and other forms of violence in intimate relationships. Eighty-one percent of the women who were stalked by a current or former husband or cohabiting partner were also physically assaulted by the same partner, and 31 percent of

the women who were stalked by a current or former husband or cohabiting partner were also sexually assaulted by the same partner. By comparison, 20 percent of the women who were ever married or ever lived with a man were physically assaulted by a current or former husband or partner, and 5 percent of women who were ever married or ever lived with a man were sexually assaulted by a current or former husband or partner. Thus, husbands or partners who stalk their partners are four times more likely than husbands or partners in the general population to physically assault their partners, and they are six times more likely than husbands and partners in the general population to sexually assault their partners.

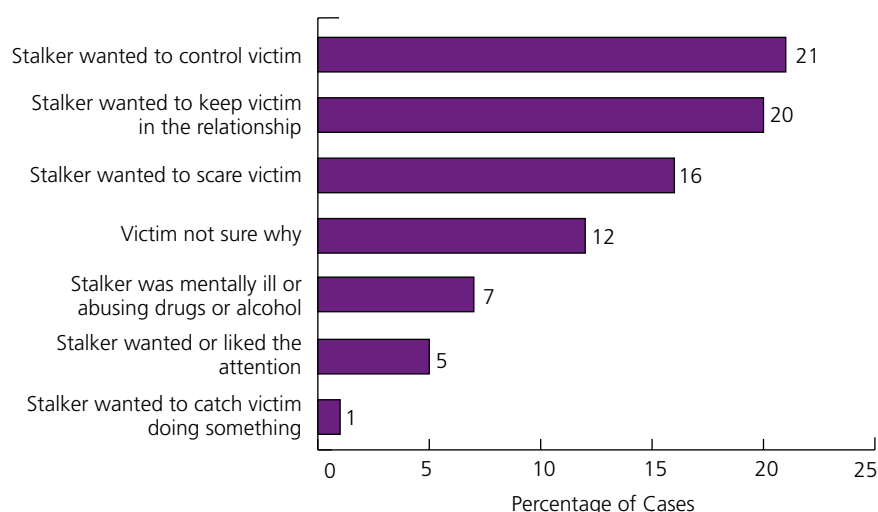
The survey also provides compelling evidence of the link between stalking and controlling and emotionally abusive behavior in intimate relationships. To provide a context for violence occurring between intimate partners, respondents to the survey were asked a series of questions about controlling and emotionally

Exhibit 12. Percentage of Victims Who Were Overtly Threatened by Their Stalkers



abusive behavior they experienced at the hands of their current or former spouses or cohabiting partners. The survey found that ex-husbands who stalked (either before or after the relationship ended) were significantly more likely than ex-husbands who did not stalk to engage in emotionally abusive and controlling behavior toward their wife (see exhibit 14 for details).

Exhibit 13. Victims' Perceptions of Why They Were Stalked^a



a. N=624 male and female victims.

How often is stalking reported to police?

Fifty-five percent of female victims and 48 percent of male victims said their stalking was reported to the police. In most of these cases, the victims made the report (see exhibit 15). The percentage of women reporting stalking is identical to the percentage of female victims reporting lone-offender violent crimes to police during 1987–89, as measured by the National Crime Victimization Survey.²²

Police responses to stalking cases involving male victims and female victims were virtually identical, with two notable exceptions: Police were significantly more likely to arrest or detain a suspect in cases involving female victims, and they were significantly more likely to refer female victims to services (see exhibit 15).

There is some evidence that stalking reports to the police by victims have increased since passage of anti-stalking laws. According to information from the survey, stalking cases occurring before 1990—the year California passed the Nation’s first antistalking law—were significantly less likely to be reported to the police than stalking cases occurring after 1995, the year all 50 States and the District of Columbia had laws proscribing stalking. There was no significant difference, however, in the number of arrests made in stalking cases that occurred before 1990 and those that occurred after 1995.

When asked why they chose not to report their stalking to the police, victims were most likely to state that their stalking was not a police matter, they thought the police would not be able to do anything, or they

Exhibit 14. Percentage of Ex-Husbands Who Engaged in Emotionally Abusive or Controlling Behavior, by Whether They Stalked^a

Types of Emotionally Abusive/ Controlling Behavior ^b	Ex-Husbands Who Stalked (%) (N=166)	Ex-Husbands Who Did Not Stalk (%) (N=2,645)
Had a hard time seeing things from her point of view	87.7	57.8
Was jealous or possessive	83.7	46.3
Tried to provoke arguments	90.3	45.3
Tried to limit her contact with family and friends	77.1	32.3
Insisted on knowing where she was at all times	80.7	34.4
Made her feel inadequate	85.5	40.9
Shouted or swore at her	88.0	44.5
Frightened her	92.2	33.1
Prevented her from knowing about or having access to family income	59.6	20.8
Prevented her from working outside the home	30.7	13.0
Insisted on changing residences even when she didn’t need or want to	33.9	11.9

a. Based on responses for first ex-husbands only.

b. Differences between ex-husbands who stalked and ex-husbands who did not stalk are significant at $\leq .001$.

Exhibit 15. Percentage and Characteristics of Stalking Cases Reported to the Police, by Sex of Victim

Reported to Police/Response	Stalking Victims (%)		
	Male	Female	Total
Was case reported to the police?	(N=178)	(N=641)	(N=819)
Yes	47.7	54.6	53.1
No	52.3	45.4	46.9
Who reported the case? ^a	(N=84)	(N=350)	(N=434)
Victim	75.0	84.0	82.3
Other	25.0	16.0	17.7
Police Response ^{a,b}	(N=84)	(N=350)	(N=434)
Took report	66.7	68.6	68.0
Arrested or detained perpetrator ^c	16.7	25.1	23.5
Referred to prosecutor or court	19.0	24.3	23.3
Referred to victim services ^c	8.3	15.1	13.8
Gave advice on self-protective measures	29.8	34.0	33.2
Did nothing	16.7	19.4	18.9

a. Based on responses from victims whose stalking was reported to the police.

b. Percentages exceed 100 percent because of multiple responses.

c. Differences between males and females are significant at $\leq .05$.

feared reprisals from their stalkers (see exhibit 16).

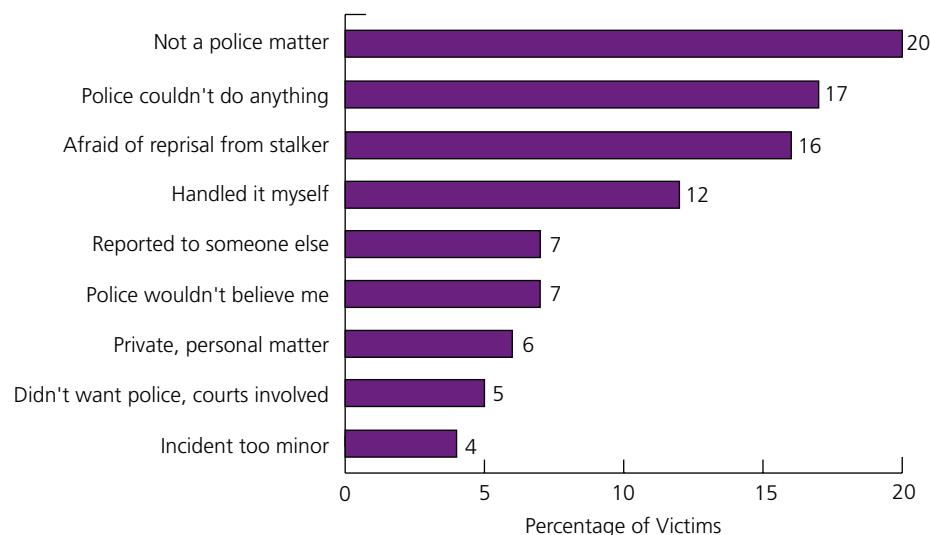
Overall, stalking victims gave police a 50/50 approval rating (see exhibit 17). Respondents who said their stalkers were arrested were significantly more likely to be satisfied with the way the police handled their case than respondents who said their stalkers were not arrested (76 percent versus 42 percent).

Victims who thought the police “should have done more” in their case were asked to describe what specific actions they thought the police should have taken. Forty-two percent thought the police should have put their assailant in jail, 20 percent said the police should have taken their situation more seriously, and 16 percent said the police should have done more to protect them (see exhibit 18).

How often are stalkers criminally prosecuted?

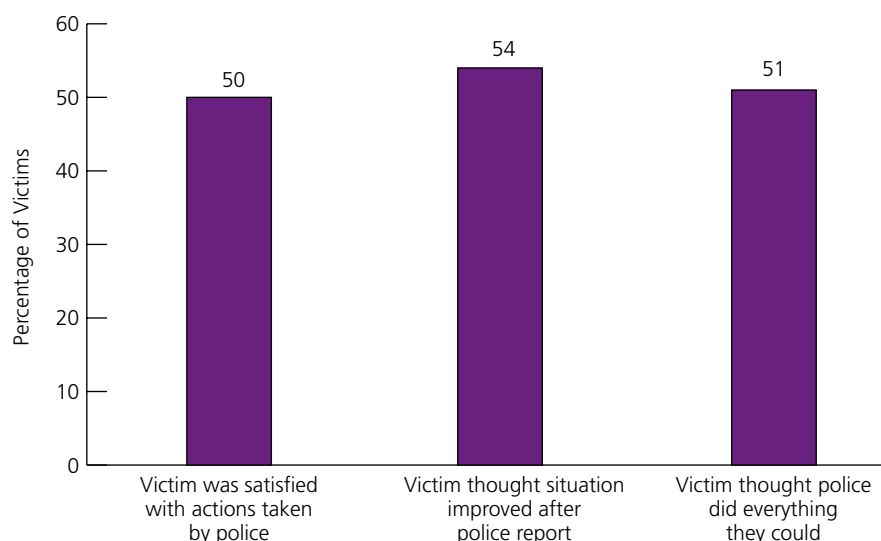
Overall, 13 percent of female victims and 9 percent of male victims reported that their stalkers were criminally prosecuted (see exhibit 19). These figures increase to 24 percent and 19 percent, respectively, when only those cases with police reports are considered. The stalkers were charged with a wide variety of crimes, including stalking, harassment, menacing or threatening, vandalism, trespassing, breaking and entering, robbery, disorderly conduct, intimidation, and simple and aggravated assault. Survey participants reported that about half the stalkers (54 percent) who had criminal charges filed against them were convicted of a crime. Of those convicted, nearly two-thirds (63 percent) were believed to have been sent to jail or prison.

Exhibit 16. Victims' Reasons for Not Reporting Stalking to Police^a



a. N=348 male and female victims.

Exhibit 17. Victims' Satisfaction With the Police^a



a. N = 435 male and female victims.

Obtaining protective or restraining orders against stalkers

Results from the survey also indicate that female victims were significantly

more likely than male victims (28 percent and 10 percent) to obtain a protective or restraining order against their stalker (see exhibit 20). This finding is expected since women are significantly more likely

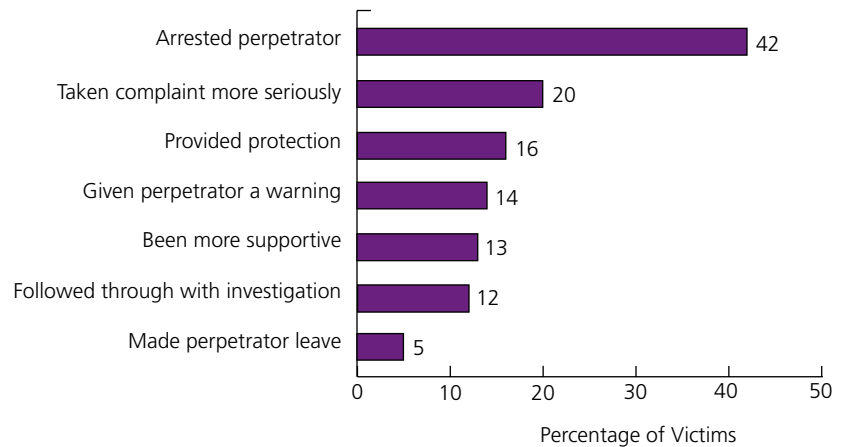
than men to be stalked by intimate partners who have a history of being violent toward them. Of those who obtained restraining orders, 69 percent of the women and 81 percent of the men said their stalker violated the order.

What are psychological and social consequences of stalking?

The survey produced strong confirmation of the negative mental health impact of stalking. About a third of the women (30 percent) and a fifth of the men (20 percent) said they sought psychological counseling as a result of their stalking victimization. In addition, stalking victims were significantly more likely than nonstalking victims to be very concerned about their personal safety and about being stalked, to carry something on their person to defend themselves, and to think personal safety for men and women had gotten worse in recent years (see exhibit 21).

Over a quarter (26 percent) of the stalking victims said their victimization caused them to lose time from work. While the survey did not query victims about why they lost time from work, it can be assumed they missed work for a variety of reasons—to attend court hearings, to meet with a psychologist or other mental health professional, to avoid contact with their assailant, and to consult with an attorney. When asked how many days of work they lost, 7 percent of these victims said they never returned to work. On average, however, victims who lost time from and returned to work missed 11 days.

Exhibit 18. *Victims' View of Other Actions Police Should Have Taken^a*



a. N=201 male and female victims who thought police should have done more.

Exhibit 19. *Percentage and Outcomes of Criminal Prosecutions in Stalking Cases, by Sex of Victim*

Outcome	Stalking Victims (%)		
	Male	Female	Total
Was perpetrator prosecuted?	(N=178)	(N=645)	(N=823)
Yes	9.0	13.1	12.1
No	91.0	86.9	87.9
Was perpetrator convicted?^a	(N=15)	(N=72)	(N=87)
Yes	60.0	52.8	54.0
No	40.0	47.2	46.0
Was perpetrator sentenced to jail or prison?^b	(N=9)	(N=37)	(N=46)
Yes	77.8	59.5	63.0
No	22.2 ^c	40.5	37.0

a. Based on responses from victims whose perpetrator was prosecuted.

b. Based on responses from victims whose perpetrator was convicted.

c. Based on five or fewer sample cases.

Stalking victims were asked whether they took any measures (other than reporting their victimization to the police or obtaining a protective order) to protect themselves from their stalker. Fifty-six percent of the women and 51 percent of the men reported taking some type of self-protective measure (see exhibit 22).

When and why does stalking stop?

At the time of the interview, 92 percent of the victims were no longer being stalked. Based on information provided by these victims, about two-thirds of all stalking cases last a year or less, about a quarter last 2–5 years,

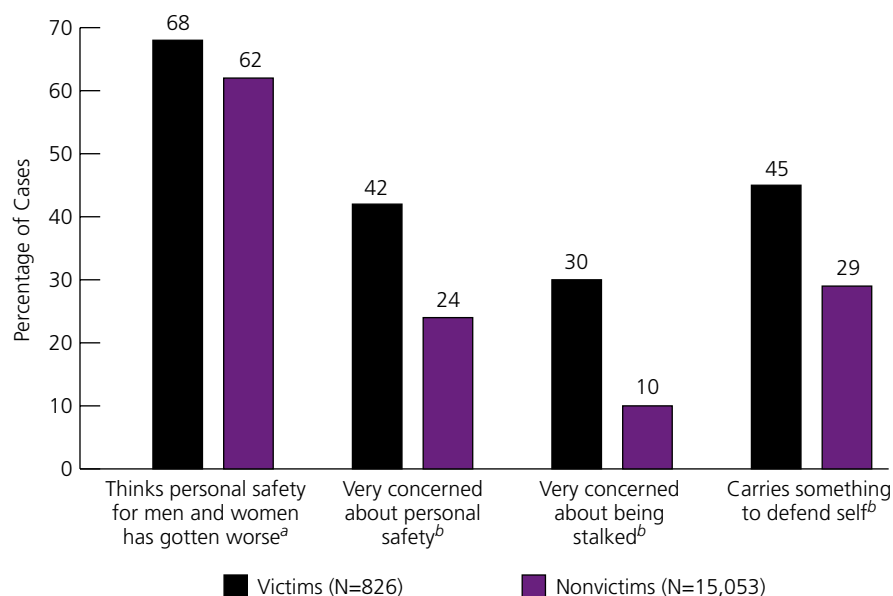
Exhibit 20. Percentage and Outcomes of Protective Orders in Stalking Cases, by Sex of Victim

Outcome	Stalking Victims (%)		
	Male	Female	Total
Did victim obtain a protective or restraining order?^a	(N=175)	(N=597)	(N=772)
Yes	9.7	28.0	23.8
No	90.3	72.0	76.2
Was the order violated?^{a,b}	(N=16)	(N=166)	(N=182)
Yes	81.3	68.7	69.8
No	18.7	31.3	30.2

a. Differences between males and females are significant at $\leq .05$.

b. Based on responses from victims who obtained a restraining order.

Exhibit 21. Fear for Personal Safety Among Victims and Nonvictims of Stalking



a. Differences between victims and nonvictims are significant at $\leq .01$.

b. Differences between victims and nonvictims are significant at $\leq .001$.

and about a tenth last more than 5 years (see exhibit 23). On average, stalking cases last 1.8 years. However, stalking cases involving intimates or former intimates last, on average, significantly longer than stalking cases

involving nonintimates (2.2 years and 1.1 years, respectively).

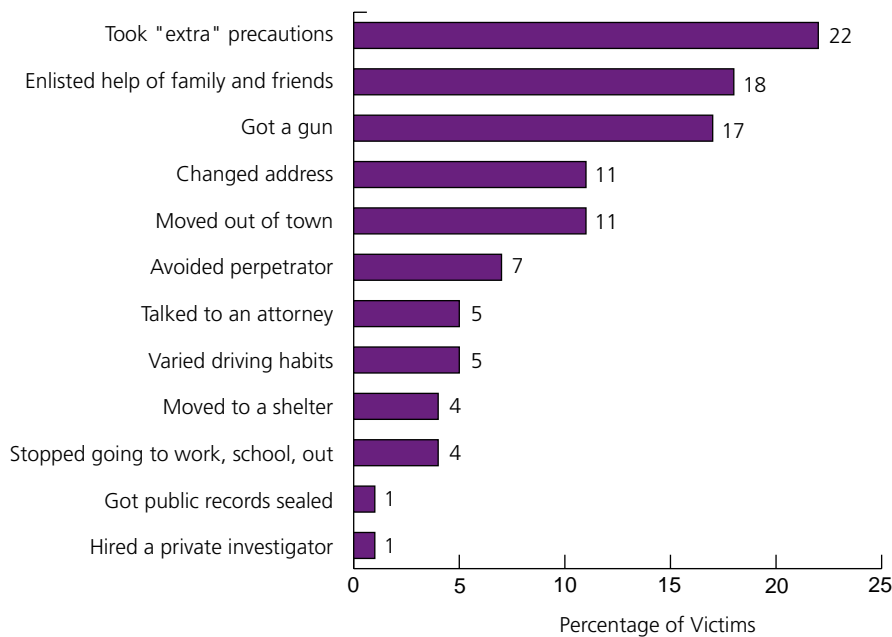
Victims who were no longer being stalked at the time of interview were asked why they thought their stalk-

ing had ceased; 19 percent said the stalking stopped because they (the victims) moved away (see exhibit 24). These findings suggest that address confidentiality programs may be an effective means of combating stalking. These programs encourage victims who face continued pursuit and unusual safety risks to develop a personal safety plan that includes relocating as far from their assailant as possible and securing a confidential mailing address that provides mail forwarding service but does not reveal their new location.²³

Some stalking cases are resolved when the perpetrator gets a new love interest. Eighteen percent of the victims said the stalking stopped because their assailant got a new spouse, partner, or boyfriend/girlfriend.

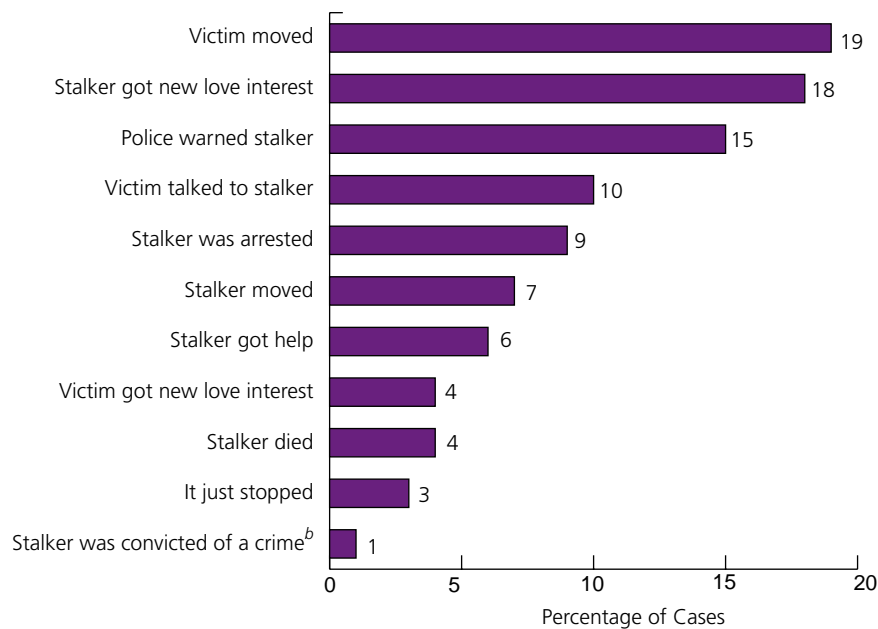
It has been reported previously that informal law enforcement interventions, such as detective contacts, can be an effective means of deterring stalkers, particularly in cases where the victim and the suspect had some prior relationship and where the stalker is not suffering from mental illness.²⁴ Findings from the NVAW Survey provide some support for this theory. Victims were more likely to credit informal, rather than formal, justice system interventions for the cessation of their stalking. For example, 15 percent of victims said their stalking stopped after their assailants received a warning from the police. By comparison, only 9 percent of victims said their stalking ceased because their stalker was arrested, 1 percent said their stalking stopped because their stalker was convicted of a crime, and less than 1 percent said the stalking stopped because they obtained a restraining order against their

Exhibit 22. **Self-Protective Measures Undertaken by Stalking Victims^a**



a. N=440 male and female victims who took self-protective measures.

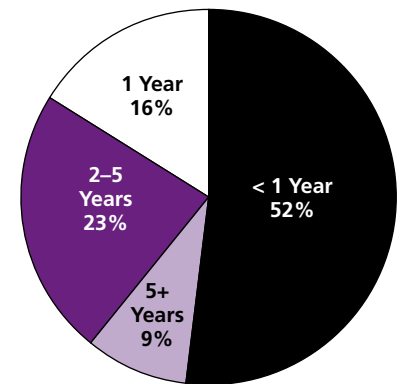
Exhibit 24. **Victims' Perception of Why Stalking Stopped^a**



a. N=665 cases.

b. Based on 5 or fewer cases.

Exhibit 23. **Distribution of Cases by Number of Years Stalking Lasted^a**



a. N=759 cases.

stalker. The fact that so few victims credited formal justice system interventions is not surprising given the paucity of arrests, criminal prosecutions, and restraining orders in stalking cases.

Policy implications

Prior to this study, empirical data on the prevalence and characteristics of stalking in the general population were virtually nonexistent. Therefore, information provided in this report can help inform policy and interventions directed at stalking. Based on findings from the National Violence Against Women Survey, the Center for Policy Research offers the following conclusions:

1. Stalking should be treated as a significant social problem. The survey found that stalking is much more prevalent than previously thought, affecting an estimated 1.4 million adults per year in the United States. Since this figure does not include cases involving victims under the age of 18, nor victims who are homeless or living in homes

without telephones, the estimate is probably an undercount of the true number of persons stalked each year. Given the scope of the stalking problem revealed by this survey, it is imperative that stalking be treated as a legitimate criminal justice problem and public health concern.

2. Credible threat requirements should be eliminated from antistalking statutes. Some State statutes include in their definition of stalking a requirement that stalkers make a credible threat of violence against their victims. Since stalking is often a “crime of deeds” rather than a “crime of words,” this requirement makes it more difficult to prosecute stalkers. Findings from the survey show that stalkers often do not threaten their victims verbally or in writing but instead engage in a course of conduct that, taken in context, causes a reasonable person to feel fearful. Despite being very frightened or fearing bodily harm or death, less than half of the stalking victims identified by the survey were directly threatened by their stalkers. This finding supports the view of many stalking experts that language which might be construed as requiring an actual verbal or written threat should be eliminated from all State antistalking statutes.

3. Research on stalking should move beyond “celebrity stalking” and focus on acquaintance and intimate partner stalking. Prior to this study, most stalking research focused on celebrity or political stalking. Findings from the survey show that the vast majority of stalking cases involve people who know each other, with fully half of all stalking cases arising in the context of current or former intimate relationships. Therefore, future research should

focus on stalking occurring between intimates and acquaintances.

4. The Nation’s criminal justice community should receive comprehensive training on the particular safety needs of stalking victims. The survey produced dramatic confirmation of the link between stalking and physical violence in intimate relationships. Fully 81 percent of the women who were stalked by an intimate partner (either before or after the relationship ended) were also physically assaulted by that partner, and 31 percent were also sexually assaulted by that partner. To help law enforcement officers, prosecutors, and defense attorneys make appropriate case processing and management decisions, they must be made aware of the very real safety risks faced by these stalking victims.

5. More research must be conducted on the effectiveness of formal and informal law enforcement interventions. The survey found that 70 percent of all restraining orders obtained against stalkers were violated. The survey also found that stalking victims were more likely to credit the cessation of their stalking to informal police interventions, such as police warnings, than to formal justice system interventions, such as arrests or restraining orders. More research is needed to determine under what situations various law enforcement interventions are most effective.

6. The mental health community should receive comprehensive training on the appropriate treatment of stalking victims. The survey found that about a quarter of all stalking victims seek psychological counseling as a result

of their victimization. In addition, stalking victims are significantly more likely than nonstalking victims to be very fearful for their personal safety, to carry something on their person to protect themselves, and to think personal safety for men and women has declined in recent years. To better meet the needs of stalking victims, mental health professionals need additional information about the characteristics of stalking, the mental health impact of stalking, and the mental health needs of stalking victims.

7. Stalking intervention strategies should include address confidentiality programs. Survey data indicate that about a fifth of all stalking victims move to a new location to escape their stalker. Given these findings, it is important that address confidentiality programs be made available to stalking victims. These programs encourage victims who face continued pursuit and unusual safety risks to develop a personal safety plan that includes relocating as far from their offender as possible and securing a confidential mailing address that provides mail forwarding service without revealing their new location. Because these measures focus on the behavior of the victim rather than the perpetrator, they may be perceived as unfair and unjust; but they may be the most effective way some victims can elude their stalkers.

Survey Methodology and Demographic Description of the Sample

The National Violence Against Women Survey was conducted during November 1995–May 1996 by interviewers at Schulman, Ronca, Bucuvalas, Inc. (SRBI), a national survey research organization in New York City, under the direction of Dr. John Boyle. Survey design and data analysis were conducted by the authors of this report.

The sample was drawn as a national, random-digit-dialing (RDD) sample of telephone households in the United States. The sample was stratified by U.S. Census region to control for differential response rates by region. Within regional strata, a simple random sample of working, residential, “hundreds banks” phone numbers was drawn. A hundreds bank is the first eight digits of any 10-digit telephone number (e.g., 301–608–38XX). A randomly generated two-digit number was appended to each randomly sampled hundreds bank to produce the full 10-digit, random-digit number. The random-digit numbers were called by SRBI interviewers from their central telephone interviewing facility. Nonworking and nonresidential numbers were screened out. Once a residential household was reached, eligible adults in each household were identified. In households with multiple eligibles, the most-recent-birthday method was used to systematically select the designated respondent. The household participation rate was 72 percent for females and 69 percent for males.²⁵ Of the eligible respondents who started the interview, 97 percent of the women and 98 percent of the men followed through to completion.

Table 1. Comparison of Demographic Characteristics of Men and Women in National Violence Against Women Survey (NVAWS) and U.S. Population

Demographic Characteristics	Men (%) ^a		Women (%) ^a	
	NVAWS	U.S. Population ^b	NVAWS	U.S. Population ^b
Age	(N=7,920)	(N=92,748,000)	(N=7,856)	(N=100,679,000)
18–24	11.4	13.0	9.8	11.9
25–29	10.4	10.2	9.6	9.4
30–39	25.4	23.8	24.6	21.9
40–49	24.0	20.0	22.5	18.9
50–59	13.5	13.0	14.4	12.9
60–69	8.8	10.1	9.9	10.7
70–79	5.2	7.0	6.8	8.9
80+	1.5	2.9	2.5	5.5
Race/Ethnicity	(N=7,353)	(N=93,282,000)	(N=7,453)	(N=101,117,000)
White	87.4	84.8	86.6	83.7
African-American	9.0	10.9	10.5	12.0
American Indian/Alaska Native	1.4	0.7	1.2	0.7
Asian/Pacific Islander	2.2	3.5	1.8	3.6
Hispanic Origin ^c	(N=7,916)	(N=93,282,000)	(N=7,945)	(N=101,117,000)
Hispanic	7.3	9.4	7.9	8.5
Non-Hispanic	92.7	90.6	92.1	91.5
Marital Status	(N=7,928)	(N=92,007,000)	(N=7,921)	(N=99,588,000)
Never married	21.2	26.8	15.5	19.4
Currently married	66.8	62.7	62.7	59.2
Divorced, separated	10.2	8.3	13.3	10.3
Widowed	1.9	2.5	8.6	11.1
Education ^d	(N=7,010)	(N=79,463,000)	(N=7,068)	(N=86,975,000)
Less than high school	9.4	18.3	10.7	18.4
High school and equivalent	29.3	31.9	34.6	35.7
Any college	48.3	40.4	45.7	39.7
Advanced degree	13.0	9.4	9.0	6.2

a. Percentages may not total 100 due to rounding.

b. Based on U.S. Bureau of the Census estimates, Current Population Survey, 1995.

c. Persons of Hispanic origin may be of any race.

d. For persons aged 25 years and older.

Survey Methodology and Demographic Description of the Sample (Continued)

Table 2. Comparison of Demographic Characteristics of Men and Women in Weighted and Unweighted National Violence Against Women (NVAW) Survey Sample

Demographic Characteristics	NVAW Survey Sample			
	Men (%) ^a		Women (%) ^a	
	Weighted ^b	Unweighted	Weighted ^b	Unweighted
Age	(N=7,920)	(N=7,920)	(N=7,856)	(N=7,856)
18–24	11.2	11.4	9.6	9.8
25–29	10.5	10.4	9.8	9.6
30–39	25.7	25.4	24.6	24.6
40–49	23.6	24.0	22.1	22.5
50–59	13.3	13.5	14.4	14.4
60–69	8.9	8.8	10.0	9.9
70–79	5.3	5.2	6.9	6.8
80+	1.5	1.5	2.5	2.5
Race/Ethnicity	(N=7,353)	(N=7,353)	(N=7,453)	(N=7,453)
White	87.4	87.4	86.6	86.6
African-American	9.0	9.0	10.5	10.5
American Indian/Alaska Native	2.2	1.4	1.8	0.7
Asian/Pacific Islander	1.4	2.2	1.2	1.8
Hispanic Origin ^c	(N=7,916)	(N=7,916)	(N=7,945)	(N=7,945)
Hispanic	7.4	7.3	8.0	7.9
Non-Hispanic	92.6	92.7	92.0	92.1

a. Percentages may not total 100 due to rounding.

b. Weighted for number of telephone lines per household.

c. Persons of Hispanic origin may be of any race.

The unweighted sample of the National Violence Against Women Survey, when compared with the Census Bureau's 1995 Current Population Survey of adult men and adult women, was remarkably similar to the general population from which it was drawn (see Table 1, page 15). Weighting was considered to correct for possible biases introduced by the fact that some households had multiple phone lines. Since such weighting had a negligible effect on the demographic composition of the sample (see Table 2), weights were not used in this data analysis.

Precision of sample estimates. The results presented in this report were tested to determine whether observed differences between groups (e.g., men/women) were statistically significant. Only comparisons that passed a hypothesis test at the 95 percent confidence level ($p \leq .05$) were considered statistically significant and were discussed in this report.

By its nature, a telephone survey is limited to the population living in households with telephones. Thus, the survey does not reflect the experiences of men and women living in phoneless households, group facilities or institutions, or on the streets. The absence of interviews with phoneless households results in an underrepresentation of certain demographic characteristics typical of households that lack telephone service (e.g., poor, headed by a single adult, located in a rural or inner-city area, renters). However, since approximately 94 percent of the American population live in households with telephones, this underrepresentation is small.

A total of 8,000 women and 8,000 men 18 years and older were interviewed using a computer-assisted interviewing system. Only female interviewers were used to interview women. For male respondents, approximately half of the interviews were conducted by female interviewers and half by male interviewers. A Spanish language translation was administered by bilingual interviewers for Spanish-speaking respondents. A technical report describing the survey methods in more detail is forthcoming.*

Sample weighting. A completed sample in a social survey will be subject to certain selection biases that may introduce sampling errors, in addition to sampling variability, into sample estimates. These potential sources of sample bias may be addressed by sample weighting. Unless there is a considerable bias in the achieved sample, however, many researchers prefer to leave the achieved sample unweighted to avoid the complexities of statistical tests with weighted samples.

*To obtain copies of the technical report, call or write to the Center for Policy Research, 1570 Emerson St., Denver CO 80218, 303-837-1555.

Survey Screening Questions

Because much confusion exists about what it means to be stalked, the National Violence Against Women Survey did not use the word "stalking" in its screening questions. Including the word would have assumed that victimized persons knew how to define stalking and perceived what happened to them as stalking. Instead, the survey used the following behaviorally-specific questions to screen respondents for stalking victimization:

Not including bill collectors, telephone solicitors, or other sales people, has anyone, male or female, ever...

- Followed or spied on you?
- Sent you unsolicited letters or written correspondence?
- Made unsolicited phone calls to you?
- Stood outside your home, school, or workplace?
- Showed up at places you were even though he or she had no business being there?

- Left unwanted items for you to find?
- Tried to communicate in other ways against your will?
- Vandalized your property or destroyed something you loved?

Respondents who answered yes to one or more of these questions were asked whether anyone had ever done any of these things to them on more than one occasion. Because stalking involves repeated behaviors, only respondents who said yes were considered possible stalking victims. Respondents who reported being victimized on more than one occasion were subsequently asked how frightened their assailant's behavior made them feel and whether they feared their assailant would seriously harm them or someone close to them. Only respondents who were very frightened or feared bodily harm were counted as stalking victims.

Notes

1. See, for example: Ellement, John, "Police Arrest Boston Man, 18, for Violating State Stalking Law," *Boston Globe*, May 28, 1992; Sullivan, Kristin N., "Woman's Case Illustrates Need for State Stalking Law, Some Say," *Houston Chronicle*, April 19, 1992; Meyer, Josh, "Man Held in Stalking of Pop Singer Janet Jackson," *Los Angeles Times*, June 25, 1992; Lardner, George, "The Stalking of Kristin: The Law Made It Easy for My Daughter's Killer," *Washington Post*, November 22, 1992; Puente, Maria, "Legislators Tackling the Terror of Stalking: But Some

Experts Say Measures are Vague," *USA Today*, July 21, 1992; Sharp, Mike, "In the Mind of a Stalker," *U.S. News and World Report*, February 17, 1992.

2. Hunzeker, Donna, "Stalking Laws," *State Legislative Report*, Denver, Col.: National Conference of State Legislatures, 17(19):1-6, October 1992.

3. National Criminal Justice Association, *Project to Develop a Model Anti-Stalking Code for States*, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Justice, National Institute of Justice, October 1993.

4. See, for example: Dietz, Park, and Martell, Daniell, "Threatening and Otherwise Inappropriate Letters to Members of the United States Congress," *Journal of Forensic Sciences*, 36(5), 1991; Holmes, Ronald, "Stalking in America: Types and Methods of Criminal Stalkers," *Journal of Contemporary Criminal Justice*, 9(4), December 1993; Zona, M.A., et al., "Comparative Study of Erotomanic and Obsessional Subjects in a Forensic Sample," *Journal of Forensic Sciences*, 38(4), July 1993; Rudden, M., et al., "Diagnosis and Clinical Course of Erotomania and Other Delusional Patients," *American Journal of Psychiatry*, 147(5):625-628, 1990.

5. See, for example: Bernstein, Susan E., "Living Under Siege: Do Stalking Laws Protect Domestic Violence Victims?," *Cardoza Law Review*, 15(1993):525-529; Boychuk, Katherine M., "Are Stalking Laws Unconstitutionally Vague or Overbroad?," *Northwestern University Law Review*, 88(2):769-802, 1994; Guy, Robert A., Jr., "Nature and Constitutionality of Stalking Laws," *Vanderbilt Law Review*, 46(4):991-1029, 1993; Gilligan, Mattlaw, "Stalking the Stalker: Developing New Laws to Thwart Those Who Terrorize Others," *Georgia Law Review*, 27(1992):285-342; Harmon, Brenda K., "Illinois' Newly Amended Stalking Law: Are All the Problems Solved?," *Southern Illinois University Law Journal*, 19(1994):165-198; Lingg, Richard A., "Stopping Stalkers: A Critical Examination of Anti-Stalking Legislation," *Saint John's Law Review*, 67(2):347-381, 1993; McAnaney, Kathleen G., et al., "From Impudence to Crime: Anti-Stalking Laws," *Notre Dame Law Review*,

- 68(1993):819–909; Morin, K.S., “The Phenomenon of Stalking: Do Existing State Statutes Provide Adequate Protection?” *San Diego Justice Journal*, 1(1):123–162, 1993; Sohn, Ellen, “Antistalking Statutes: Do They Actually Protect Victims?” *Criminal Law Bulletin*, 30(3):203–241, 1994; Strikis, Silvija, “Stopping Stalking,” Note, *Georgetown Law Journal*, 81(1993):2772–2813; Thomas, Kenneth R., “How to Stop the Stalker: State Anti-Stalking Laws,” *Criminal Law Bulletin*, 29(2):124–136, 1992; Walker, Julie Miles, “Anti-Stalking Legislation: Does It Protect the Victim Without Violating the Rights of the Accused?” *Denver University of Law Review*, 71(2):273–302, 1993.
6. Lardner, George, *The Stalking of Kristin: A Father Investigates the Murder of His Daughter*, New York: Atlantic Monthly Press, 1995; Orion, Doreen, *I Know You Really Love Me: A Psychiatrist’s Journal of Erotomania, Stalking, and Obsessive Love*, New York: Macmillan, 1997.
7. Thomas, “How to Stop the Stalker: State Anti-Stalking Laws” (note 5).
8. Hunzeker, “Stalking Laws” (note 2).
9. National Institute of Justice, *Domestic Violence, Stalking, and Antistalking Legislation: An Annual Report to Congress under the Violence Against Women Act*, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Justice, National Institute of Justice, April 1996.
10. Ibid.
11. National Criminal Justice Association, *Project to Develop a Model Anti-Stalking Code for States* (note 3).
12. The findings of the survey, as in any sample survey, are subject to sample fluctuations or sampling error. Using the sampling methods described in this report (see “Survey Methodology”), the maximum sampling error at the 95 confidence level for a sample of 8,000 is plus or minus 1.1 percentage points if the response distribution on a categorical variable is a 50/50 split.
13. According to U.S. Bureau of the Census estimates, there were 100,697,000 women and 92,748,000 men aged 18 years and older residing in the United States in 1995.
14. While testimony provided at a September 29, 1992, Senate Judiciary Committee Hearing on S.B. 2922 (Violence Against Women) is generally cited as the source for these estimates, the figures first appeared in a *USA Today* article on stalking (see Puente in note 1). The statistics contained in the article were attributed to “guesses” provided by Dr. Park Dietz, a Los Angeles-based forensic psychiatrist, presumably on the basis of his research on a nonrepresentative sample of known celebrity stalkers (see Dietz in note 4).
15. Wallace, L.J.D., Calhoun, A.D., Powell, K.E., O’Neill, J., and James, S.P., *Homicide and Suicide Among Native Americans, 1979–1992*, Violence Surveillance Summary Series, No. 2, Atlanta, Ga.: Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, National Center for Injury Prevention and Control, 1996.
16. National Research Council, *Understanding Violence Against Women*, Washington D.C.: National Academy Press, 1996:40–41.
17. Sorenson, S.B., Stein, J.A., Siegel, J.M., Golding, J.M., and Burnam, M.A., “The Prevalence of Adult Sexual Assault: The Los Angeles Epidemiologic Catchment Area Project,” *American Journal of Epidemiology*, 126:154–1164, 1987; Sorenson, S.B., and Tells, C.A., “Self-Reports of Spousal Violence in a Mexican American and a Non-Hispanic White Population,” *Violence and Victims*, 6(1991):3–16.
18. A survey of 90 Florida law enforcement agencies reported that in most stalking cases the victim knew the offender. See Tucker, J.T., “The Effectiveness of Florida Stalking Statutes Section 784.048,” *Florida Law Review*, 45(4):609–707, 1993.
19. See National Institute of Justice, *Domestic Violence, Stalking, and Antistalking Legislation*: 1 (note 9).
20. Ibid.
21. See National Criminal Justice Association, *Project to Develop a Model Anti-Stalking Code for States* (note 3).
22. Bachman, Ronet, *Violence Against Women: A National Crime Victimization Survey Report*, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Justice, Bureau of Justice Statistics, January 1993.
23. See, for example, the Address Confidentiality Program, Post Office Box 69, Olympia, Washington, 98507-0069, (360) 753-2971.

24. Williams, W.L., Lane, J.C.D., and Zona, M.A., "Stalking: Successful Intervention Strategies," *The Police Chief*, (February 1996):24–26; and Zona, M.A., Sharma, K.K., and Lane, J.C., "A Comparative Study of Erotomaniac and Obsessional Subjects in a Forensic Sample," *Journal of Forensic Sciences*, 38(4):894–903, July 1993.

25. The participation rate for the survey was determined using the industry standard advocated by the Council of Applied Survey Research Organizations, which calculates the rate as the number of completed interviews, including those that are screened out as ineligible, divided by the total number of completed interviews, screened-out interviews, refusals, and terminated interviews. Using this standard, the participation rate for women was $(8000 + 4829) \div (8000 + 4829 + 4608 + 352) = .72$ and the participation rate for men was $(8005 + 8828) \div (8005 + 8828 + 7552 + 65) = .69$.

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